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444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull 'insaan rizqahu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 617 Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

[265] In Munṣif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident landowners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the villagers. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghaziyah and El-'Addousiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Najjariyah voluntary village labor helped to build a new road from the dei'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 476

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over L.L. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghaziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. 361
In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the dei'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the dei'ah. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and 231
milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equip- 592
ment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this shee'ah moslem 462
area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other 407
mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. 365
None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use 464
of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make 465
the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the beidar where the villagers, often 423
working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is 476
brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind 241
them a mauraj, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In 241
order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff